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FM THE WHITE HOUSE TOHAK 31

PARIS

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SECTION ONE

TO: WINSTON LORD FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FM: THE SITUATION ROOM

FOREIGN NEWS SUMMARY

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

INDOCHINA

TALKS

AP REPORTS THE TALKS WERE HELD IN AN "APPARENTLY ICY ATMOSPHERE  
W/ AN AURA OF GRIM CONFRONTATION."...FOR THE 1ST TIME, THERE  
WERE NO SMILES OR HANDSHAKES. AT THE END OF MEETING, N. VIETS  
AGAIN BROKE W/LONG-ESTABLISHED CUSTOM AND CONSPICUOUSLY FAILED  
TO ESCORT THE US DELEGATES TO THE DOOR.

UPI SAID HAK AND THO WERE "GRIM-FACED AND STUDIOUSLY AVOIDING  
EACH OTHER IN PUBLIC." UPI CALLED THE ATMOSPHERE "THE COOLEST  
NEWSMEN HAD SEEN SINCE HAK AND THO STARTED MEETING REGULARLY IN  
OCTOBER."...AP SAYS THO "SEEMED TO GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO  
DEMONSTRATE HANOI'S ANGER OVER THE BOMBING."

KALISCHER FOUND A SENSE OF DEJA VU IN PARIS. NO ONE OUTSIDE TO GREET  
TO NOV. AND BEFORE THE B-52 RAIDS. NO ONE OUTSIDE TO GREET  
HAK AND NO JOVIAL EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES. HAK-SULLIVAN SHOWN IN  
"GRIM" MEETING THO HAK DID MAKE "HALF-HEARTED WAVE" TO PRESS....ON CBS  
AM, KALISCHER SAID START OF MEETING SEEMED AS UNFRIENDLY AS THE  
WEATHER -- COLD AND CLAMMY. KALISCHER SAID THE N. VIETS SEEM  
ANGRIER. THEY'RE NOW ATTACKING THE ADMIN. WHICH THEY DIDN'T  
DO BEFORE LAST ROUND, AND WHEN THO ARRIVED IN PARIS AFTER EXPERIENCING  
THE BOMBING, HE WAS "VISIBLY WROUGHT." KALISCHER SEES NO MORE  
MOOD TO COMPROMISE THAN BEFORE, ADDING IF ANYTHING, NVN MAY BE  
"TOUGHER."

THE CORDIALITY DIED DUE TO BOMBINGS AND BITTER ACCUSATIONS FROM  
BOTH SIDES, SAID NBC'S DOBYNS. THO WAS "UNPLEASANT, AT BEST,"  
ON HIS PARIS RETURN AND HAK NOT MUCH BETTER. CORDIALITY OF PAST  
TURNED TO "CHILLY DISDAIN" FROM NVN TOWARD HAK W/AN APPARENTLY  
"DELIBERATE SNUB" UPON HAK'S ARRIVAL AT MEETING. DOBYNS SAID US  
SOURCES FEEL IT MAY TAKE REST OF WEEK TO ASSESS THE TREND BUT  
IT'S CLEAR, SAID REPORTER, THAT DIFFERENCES STILL REMAIN. HOWEVER,  
HE RECALLED HAK EARLIER CALLED AGREEMENT 99 PERCENT COMPLETE  
AND THO ALSO SPOKE BACK IN DEC. OF REACHING AN EARLY CONCLUSION.  
OVERALL, CONCLUDED DOBYNS, THE LACK OF OPTIMISM MAY BE BEST SIGN  
YET.

REASONER NOTED "NO HANDSHAKES THIS TIME" WHILE SMITH CITED  
"DECIDEDLY ICY" ATMOSPHERE, BUT ABC'S ROLFSON IN PARIS, WHILE  
SAYING "OPTIMISM WAS NOTICEABLY ABSENT" NONETHELESS EMPHASIZED  
THAT PUBLIC ATTITUDES SHOWN BY HAK AND THO ARE "NOT TO BE TAKEN  
SERIOUSLY" IN LIGHT OF EARLIER SMILES WHEN THE TALKS COLLAPSED.  
ROLFSON NOTED MAJOR AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT, "UNCOMPROMISING COMMENTS"  
AND THE US BOMBING AS BEING THE REAL AREAS OF DIVISION. W/NVN  
HAVING "BOUNDLESS ANGER" OVER IT. ROLFSON DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER  
SESSION DEALT MORE W/ANGER OR W/"EFFORT" (HAK'S SUNDAY TERM)  
BUT THEY WILL MEET TUESDAY.

PERSONALLY AS THEY COMPARED HIM TO HITLER IN AN "EXTRAORDINARY" ATTACK, UNPRECEDENTED IN ITS SAVAGE TONE. SAID THEY CAN'T TRUST RN UNLESS HE SIGNS DRAFT W/MINOR MODIFICATIONS -- OTHERWISE, NO PEACE. THE CRITICISM WAS "DISCOURAGING" TO STATE, SAID MARVIN WHO ALSO NOTED NVN, IN EFFECT, WARNED RUSSIA NOT TO PRESSURE HER. AND HANOI SAID HAK HAD EARLIER ASKED NEUTRALS TO BE DROPPED FROM CEASE-FIRE FORCE AND FOR NVN'S LACK OF LEGAL RIGHT TO HAVE NVA IN SOUTH.

KALB ON CBS AM SAID THERE HAD BEEN TOO MANY "MAKE IT OR BREAK IT" MEETINGS, ALTHO THIS ONE HAD ALL THE QUALITIES. REFERRING TO NVN STATEMENTS COMPARING RN TO HITLER, KALB SAID THERE IS INCREASE IN "UGLY RHETORIC." KALB ACKNOWLEDGED THIS WAS FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES, BUT SAID US HAS USED SILENCE FOR PROPAGANDA, LETTING THE BOMBING SPEAK FOR ITSELF.

WHEN ASKED IN DC IF SVN WOULD BE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE BY NOT SIGNING PEACE SETTLEMENT, "NO, NO, NO," SAID EX-FOR-MIN. TRAN VAN DO...NBC'S DELANEY IN SAIGON FINDS THIEU STRONGER THAN A MONTH AGO AS GVN CONTINUES TO SAY THERE'LL BE NO REAL ACCORD UNLESS THEY SIGN. THIEU HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS PERSONAL POSITION -- NO LONGER ANY EFFECTIVE RIVALS TO HIM AND THERE'S NO PANIC OVER A US AID CUTOFF AS SVN FEELS IT HAS ENOUGH FOR 6-12 MONTHS AND IT ALSO BELIEVES ITS ARMY CAN HANDLE ANY NVA REMAINING. IN THE END, SVN FEELS IT MUST TALK TO HANOI TO GET THE WAR RESOLVED BUT THOSE SIDES AREN'T TALKING NOW SO POW AND CEASEFIRE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN US AND NVN WOULD BE FINE W/THIEU. HE MIGHT THEN SAY TO US -- THANKS FOR YOUR HELP. YOU MAY LEAVE NOW. BUT, SAID NBC'S MAN, THIEU WON'T SIGN ANY ACCORD THAT'LL ENDANGER HIS REIGN OR SVN'S SOVEREIGNTY.

US NEWS LEADS ITS NO. 1 STORY: "FOR RN, THE DRIVE TO END THE VN WAR SEEMED SUDDENLY TO BECOME A RACE AGAINST TIME." FACING HILL AND "INTRANSIGENT HANOI," TIME FOR RN TO MAKE PEACE ON HIS OWN TERMS WAS GROWING SHORT. JAN. 20 LOOMED AS A "DEADLINE," THE LAST CHANCE RN HAS TO ACHIEVE 1ST TERM PEACE GOAL. THE MAG REPORTS A SOURCE CLOSE TO TALKS AS SAYING HANOI IS IN A "WEAKER POSITION" THAN IN DEC. AND THE BOMBING DESTRUCTION "DISTURBS THEM." US OFFICIALS APPEARED LESS OPTIMISTIC, THO.

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SECTION TWO

TO: WINSTON LORD FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FM: THE SITUATION ROOM

FOREIGN NEWS SUMMARY

NEWSWEEK LEADS W/2 STORIES ON VN TALKS -- ONE ON HILL THE OTHER ON PARIS WHICH NOTES ABSENCE OF "BUOYANT OPTIMISM" WHILE IN US "DREAMS OF XMAS PEACE SOURED INTO NEW YEAR'S HANGOVER." DAILY PHOTOS OF NVN "ETCHED IN US CONSCIENCE" THE BOMB DAMAGE. HILL THREATENED TO CUT SHORT RN HONEYMOON ANTICIPATED FROM LANDSLIDE. NEWSWEEK FEELS US ARGUMENT THAT BOMBING BROUGHT PLEDGE FOR SERIOUS TALKS IS "OPEN TO SERIOUS QUESTION" AND NVN HAS OFFERED NO SUCH HINTS.

CRITICISM FROM CLOSE FRIENDS" CUT US DEEPEST, SAYS NEWSWEEK WHICH ALSO ASSERTS THAT BOMBING DID NOT RESOLVE TOUGHEST ISSUE OF SVN CLAIM OF SOVEREIGNTY AND SVN "COULD CONCEIVABLY STILL

CAUSE TROUBLE (BY) TRYING TO DRIVE RN-HAK WEDGE." MAG ALSO ALLEGES NSC STAFFER NEGROPONTE HAS LEAKED RUMORS ABOUT HAK WEAKNESS IN TALKS AND IT NOTES RUMOR THAT RN PREFERRED HAIG'S TOUGHER APPROACH. BUT NEWSWEEK ASSERTS "MOST EXPERTS EXPECT THIEU TO COME AROUND EVENTUALLY," AND THEREFORE "INITIALING A TENTATIVE PEACE IS POSSIBILITY." AS ONE US NEGOTIATOR SAID WE MAY BE "HOME IN TIME FOR SUPER BOWL." NEWSWEEK OPINES "EVEN IF HAK COMES HOME EMPTY-HANDED, THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL STAY ON TRACK."

TO EXPECT TALKS TO BE ANY MORE FRUITFUL THAN IN PAST. "YET, ALMOST INEXPLICABLY AFTER ITS EARLIER PESSIMISM, WH SEEMED TO EXUDE A PRIVATE SENSE THAT PEACE COULD BE MADE THIS MONTH," BASED ON TECHNICAL TALK PROGRESS. IT NOTES A US OFFICIAL IN PARIS SAYS TALKS AREN'T BACK TO "SQUARE ONE," BUT NEITHER HAS ADMIN RETURNED TO "HEADY OPTIMISM" OF OCT. NOTING DC HAS BEEN SEARCHING FOR HINTS FOR AN RN-HAK RIFT, TIME SAYS IN THE END HAK'S REPUTATION WILL STAND ON WHAT HAPPENS IN PARIS. IF PAST IS ANY CRITERION, HE HAS ALREADY LAID DOWN PRIORITIES FOR DISCUSSION AND NARROWED THE ISSUES TO FUNDAMENTALS: RELEASE OF POWS UPON US W/DRAWAL, CEASE-FIRE AND INTERNATL. OBSERVER FORCE OF SOME CONSEQUENCE. STATING, AS DOES US NEWS AND TIME THAT RN WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE A TRUCE BEFORE JAN. 20, THE MAG ADDS SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD PROBABLY INCLUDE A SEMANTIC COMPROMISE ON VN UNITY, BUT THE US ISN'T LIKELY TO WIN A GUARANTEE THAT HANOI WILL REFRAIN FROM USING VIOLENCE TO IMPOSE ON SVN. HOWEVER, AT THE LEAST, US SEEKS AN ASSURANCE NVN WILL RESPECT THE DMZ.

TIME BELIEVES RAIDS HALTED BECAUSE BOTH SIDES REACTED ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY TO VARIOUS PRESSURES. RN WASN'T PREPARED FOR THE CONTINUING "AVALANCHE AND REVULSION." NOR DID HE EXPECT RAIDS TO BE SO COSTLY IN US LIVES AND PLANES. NOTING RZ'S STATEMENT ABOUT HILL ACTION, TIME SAYS THAT MAY HAVE SEEMED MORE VALID IF ADMIN. HADN'T BEEN SAYING ABOUT THE SAME THINGS FOR 3 YEARS. IT'S TRUE HILL MOOD OF FRUSTRATION AND ANGER WON'T STRENGTHEN HAK'S HAND, TIME ADMITS, BUT IT'S ALSO TRUE THE ACTION MAY HELP FORCE A SOLUTION BY PRESSURING SVN. IN ADDITION, NVN WAS ALSO UNDER PRESSURE, HAVING BEEN URGED BY USSR AND PRC TO REACH A QUICK ACCORD. FACT THAT BREZHNEV SENT HIS OFFSPRING TO RECEPTION FOR COSEX, THE MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: "HANOI'S SPONSORS WANT A SETTLEMENT." THUS, SAYS TIME, "PEACE -- BADLY STAINED, TO BE SURE, BY THE EVENTS OF THE PAST MONTH -- APPEARS TO BE UNDERFOOT IF NOT EXACTLY AT HAND."

EVIDENCE" THAT "USSR PRESSED NVN TO RESUME TALKS" IN ORDER TO  
CONTINUE THAW IN US-USSR RELATIONS.

#### LAIRD, HILL AND OTHER REACTION

IN ABC FILM PETERSON CALLED LAIRD'S TESTIMONY A "HAPPY ASSESS-  
MENT" OF VIETNAMIZATION AS NEARLY COMPLETE BUT NOTED LAIRD'S  
RECOMMENDING NO PULLOUT OF AIR AND SEA SUPPORT "CAST SOME DOUBT"  
ON SVN CAPABILITY....LAIRD SAID SVN IS VIRTUALLY READY TO TAKE  
OVER ITS OWN FULL DEFENSE IF TALKS FAIL....LAIRD GOT HIGH MARKS  
FROM MOST, SAID NBC'S COCHRAN BUT AFTER CAMERAS LEFT HE WAS PRESSED  
TO EXPLAIN BOMBING. REPORTER ASKED "WHY QUIBBLE OVER A PIECE OF  
PAPER" IF ARVN CAN HANDLE THINGS ON OWN. LAIRD SAID BOTH HE AND  
RN HAVE OFT EMPHASIZED NEED FOR POW/MIA RETURN AND ACCOUNTING.  
ASKED IF THAT WAS "HANGUP" IN PARIS, THE OUTGOING SECY SAID A  
US FORCE WILL BE MAINTAINED TIL THAT'S HANDLED. BUT HE WOULDN'T  
SAY THAT WAS THE ONLY REASON FOR PARIS DELAY, DESPITE REPORTERS'  
CONTINUED QUESTIONS.

LAIRD SAID "WHEN WE DETERMINED NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT GOING  
FORWARD....THE MAY 8 (BOMBING) ORDER WAS PUT BACK INTO EFFECT/"  
HE ALSO SAID AIRCRAFT TURNED OVER TO SVN HAVE THE RANGE TO FLY  
NORTH OF THE DMZ, "BUT NOT VERY FAR." LAIRD ADDED THAT "WE ARE  
NOT GIVING THEM ANY CAPABILITY TO CARRY ON OFFENSIVE WARFARE,"  
BUT TWICE NOTED "I CANNOT SAY TO YOU THEY WILL NEVER GO NORTH.  
BUT I CAN SAY SVN HAS BETTER MILITARY CAPABILITY THAN NVN."

LEGGETT ACCUSED LAIRD OF "LEAVING THE PENTAGON W/THE MOST  
MASSIVE SCANDALS (COST OVERRUNS ETC) WE'VE HAD...OVER-ALL, I  
WOULD RATE YOU A MINUS....THE WAR IS KIND OF A HOPELESS FAILURE."  
LAIRD SAID HE WAS "DEEPLY HURT" BY THE CHARGES, SAYING HE HELPED  
DEVISE VN-IZATION TO GET US OUT AND DOD CONTRACTS THAT LEGGETT  
CRITICIZED WERE AWARDD BY DEMS, NOT RN. LAIRD ALSO SUGGESTED  
THE LOSS OF 16 B-52'S WAS EXPECTED AND THAT MAX PREDICTION OF  
98 PCT PENETRATION WAS ACHIEVED DURING THE RAIDS.

IN LENGTHY UPI FEATURE, FRIEDHEIM SAYS THE REASON HE'S BEEN

QUOTED SO MUCH LATELY BECAUSE NO ONE ELSE IS TALKING. THE ADMIN FEELS DOD SHOULD BE BASIC SOURCE OF VN INFO, WHILE DOD THINKS IT SHOULD COME TO MACV BUT "WHEN THINGS ARE HAPPENING A LOT OF INFO WINDS UP COMING FROM HEAR," HE SAID AS HE RECALLED HE WAS ALSO QUOTED FREQUENTLY DURING CAMBODIA, THE EC121 SHOOTDOWN, AND LAOS. AS FOR CRITICISM OF HIS BRIEFINGS, FRIEDHEIM SHRUGS IT OFF AS "THE SAME OLD 'KILL THE MESSENGER' THING." UPI NOTES A TIMES COLUMNIST SAID "PERHAPS NO MAN IN HISTORY HAS EVER LIED FOR HIS GOVT. AS DOGGEDLY, AS WITLESSLY OR AS UNSUCCESSFULLY." BUT FRIEDHEIM SAYS HE WOULD "NEVER KNOWINGLY LIE OR DO SOMTHING MISLEADING." BUT HE CAN'T DIVULGE ALL AS HE HAS TO PROTECT CLASSIFIED INFO. FRIEDHEIM ALSO FEELS HE HAS THE "OBLIGATION TO BE SILENT WHEN I CAN'T ANSWER IN A TRUTHFUL WAY." UPI NOTES REPORTERS ARE FRUSTRATED THAT FRIEDHEIM CAN DOGGEDLY REPLY OVER AND OVER "NO COMMENT" OR "I HAVE NOTHING TO GIVEE YOU ON THAT"-- NO MATTER HOW HARD HE IS PRESSED. FRIEDHEIM, THO, SAYS "IF I DIDN'T WANT TO TAKE THE HEAT, I WOULDN'T BE IN THE KITCHEN.... WE DON'T COME TO WORK JUST ON SUNNY DAYS."

WH SAID HERB KLEIN WAS REFLECTING HIS OWN VIEW WHEN HE SAID RN HAD A "VERY CLEAR MANDATE" TO PROCEED WITH HIS VN POLICIES. AT SAME TIME, WARREN SAID: "IM NOT GOING TO COMMENT ON RN'S VIEW OR ON TALKS. KLEIN HAD ACCUSED HILL CRITICS OF APPLYING "A DOUBLE STANDARD" IN DENOUNCING RN'S POLICIES AFTER "PARTICIPATING IN AN ELECTION WHERE HE HAD A VERY CLEAR MANDATE TO PROCEED THE WAY HE HAS IN VN."

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SECTION THREE

TO: WINSTON LORD FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FM: THE SITUATION ROOM

NOREIGN NEWS SUMMARY

ROBT. BYRD ON TODAY DIDN'T BELIEVE HILL WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL  
IN LEGISLATING END TO WAR, SAYING IT WOULD BE SUBJECT TO RN VETO  
AND HE DOESN'T THINK HILL COULD OVERRIDE IT. HE FEELS EFFORT WAS  
MADE TO SHOW SENTIMENT RATHER THAN FOR PRACTICABLE REASONS. BYRD  
DOESN'T THINK HIS VOTE AGAINST DEM RESOLUTION WAS OUT-BF-STEP:  
HE AGREES WAR SHOULD END, BUT DISAGREED W/MEANS AS IT WAS PROPOSED  
" AT WRONG TIME, IN WRONG PLACE AND THRU WRONG VEHICLE."  
BYRD ALSO BELIEVES IT MAY GIVE NVN MORE HOPE OF GETTING WHAT  
THEY WANT THRU NEGOTIATIONS.

BYRD FEELS RN SHOULD HAVE CONSULTED W/LEADERS BEFORE BOMBING--  
BUT DOESN'T THINK IT WOULD HAVE CHANGED ANYTHING ALTHO PUBLIC  
MIGHT HAVE GIVEN MORE SUPPORT HAD IT BEEN TAKEN INTO RN'S  
CONFIDENCE. HE AGREES HILL IS IN A "DETERMINED MOOD" TO END  
THE WAR, BUT ADDED IT CAN'T LEGISLATE POW RELEASE, AND NVN  
WON'T SIMPLY RELEASE POWS IN EXCHANGE FOR US W/DRAWAL. HE HOPES  
RN WON'T RESUME BOMBING, THO.



RESPONDED TO QUESTIONING ON HILL-WH RELATIONS BY SAYING HE BELIEVES  
RN INTENDS TO MEET MORE W/LEADERS AND DOESN'T KNOW WHY HE  
HASN'T UNLESS HE FEELS MCS ARE HIS ADVERSARIES. BYRD FEELS THE  
TALKS HAVE A CHANCE IF US MAINTAINS ITS PERSISTENCE,  
PATIENCE AND FORTITUDE AND USSR/PRC EXERT SOME PRESSURE ON NVN.

LABELING DEM END-THE -WAR MOVES AS ACTS OF FRUSTRATION,  
JACKSON SAID HILL COULD IMPAIR THE TALKS AND SET A TRAP FOR  
IT SELF BY TRYING TO FORCE RN TO END THE WAR. EFFORTS TO CUT  
OFF FUNDS "COULD HAVE AN ADVERSE AFFECT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS  
AND..BE USED AGAINST THE (DEMS) AT A LATER TIME IF THEY  
FAIL," HE SAID. "OBVIOUSLY MANY DEMS FELT RN WAS GOING TO BE  
DEAD ON VN IN '72 AND I MADE IT CLEAR FROM BEGINNING THAT  
WOULDN'T BE THE MAJOR ISSUE. THERE IS A CERTAIN OBSESSION  
THAT DEVELOPS ON SOME OF THE ISSUES....IT'S AN ATTEMPT TO  
RESPOND IN A STATE OF FRUSTRATION." JACKSON STATED. THE FACTS  
ARE, JACKSON ADDED, THAT RN "HAS THE INITIATIVE AND HE IS NOW  
IN A POSITION WHERE HE CAN BLAME THE CONGRESS IF THE PARIS TALKS  
FAIL."

MUSKIE SAID RN WILL BE IN TROUBLE AT HOME AND ABROAD IF HE  
DOES NOT END VN BY INAUGURATION. "THAT'S HIS OPPORTUNITY TO HOLD  
UP PROSPECT OF SOMETHING BETTER FOR US AND WORLD." HE ADDED THAT  
RN IS "CLOSE TO THE CRUNCH" AND "A GREAT DEAL WOULD DEPEND ON  
WHAT HAPPENS" BEFORE INAUGURATION. ASKED WHAT RN WOULD DO IF  
FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF "PEACE WITHOUT HONOR, OR NO PEACE AT  
ALL, , MISKIE SAID "ON THE BASIS OF THE LAST 2 MONTHS, I  
THINK HE'D CHOOSE CONTINUED WAR."....BIG ED ALSO SAID THAT  
"PRESIDENT'S CAN STRETCH THEIR MANDATES ONLY SO FAR, AND CANNOT  
STRETCH THEM BEYOND WHAT THE US PEOPLE BELIEVE IS MORAL."

JOHN ANDERSON IS QUOTED IN NAT'L OBSERVER: "CONGRESS HAS  
REACHED THE TURNING POINT ON VN. (GOP MCS) WHO'VE BEEN SEMI-  
HAWKISH HAVE REALLY BEEN CONVERTED BY THE BOMBING. THEY'VE NO  
STOMACH FOR SUCH TACTICS ANYMORE. I HOPE THE ADMIN GETS THE  
MESSAGE. HAK HAS TO COME BACK W/AN AGREEMENT IN A RELATIVELY  
SHORT TIME.

OVER BEFORE IT STARTED." HE DEFENDED RN'S BOMBING AND ADDED:  
"HAD WE USED THESE WEAPONS WHEN JFK WENT TO WAR, AND USED  
THEM CORRECTLY, THE WAR WOULD NOT HAVE LASTED MORE THAN A  
WEEK."....HEBERT SAID "WELL-INTENTIONED BUT PERHAPS EMOTIONALLY  
UPSET PEOPLE HAVE SPEWED THE NVN LINE," AND ADDED: "THE  
MOST IMPORTANT THING IS AN HONORABLE PEACE AND HONORABLE PEACE  
RESTS SOLELY ON RELEASE OF POWS AND MIA ACCOUNTING."

NEWSWEEK SAYS VN "REVULSION" COULD LEAD TO UNPRECEDENTED  
W/RN. COTTON HAS "NEVER SEEN HILL IN SUCH AN  
UGLY MOOD." RZ'S ATTEMPT TO HEAD OFF HILL REVOLT WAS W/WHAT  
NEWSWEEK CALLED "SHOPWORN ADMONITION" AGAINST JEOPARDIZING TALKS.  
NEWSWEEK REPORTS SYMINGTON'S "MOST ELOQUENT" PLEA AND OPEN  
WEEPING OVER WAR AS WELL AS PELL'S DESCRIPTION OF HOW "MURDER"  
DURING XMAS SEASON WAKES HIM AT NIGHT. AND NEWSWEEK SAYS THE  
LUKEWARM SEN. GOP VOTE OF CONFIDENCE "CHAGRINED" WH BUT GOP SOLONS  
ARE CALLED "STILLBITTER" OVER RN "DESERTION OF THEM" IN CAMPAIGN.  
UNANIMOUS RE-ELECTION OF SCOTT WAS EFFECTED AFTER WORD PASSED OF  
POSSIBLE WH AIDE'S OPPOSITION TO HIM OVER BUSING FIGHT. "FEISTY  
MOOD PROMISED TO LAST" CLAIMS NEWSWEEK, AS MC'S HAVE "CAPTURED  
DECEPTIVELY SUBDUED MOOD BACK HOME." IRONICALLY, GIVEN PERIOD AS  
ONE OF WOULD-BE TRIUMPH, INAUGURATION DAY "LOOMS AS DEADLINE"  
FOR RN.

WRITING IN NEWSWEEK, STEWART ALSOP NOTES HOW THE BOMBINGS,  
IMPOUNDING OF FUNDS AND GOP FEELING THAT THE '72 CRP CAMPAIGN  
WAS "THE MOST SELFISH" IN HISTORY HAVE COMBINED TO CREATE A VERY  
"SOUR AND ANGRY" HILL. OUT ALSOP FEELS THE RN OPPONENTS ARE HEADING  
ON A COURSE "FESTOONED W/BOOBY TRAPS SKILLFULLY SET BY RN." THE  
PUBLIC MAY WELL BE JUST AS ANTI-SPENDING AND ANTI-TAX RISE AS  
THE WH THINKS IT IS. AND ON THE WAR, THE DEMS ARE, WHETHER THEY  
LIKE THE CHARGE OR NOT, CLEARLY UNDERCUTTING THE NEGOTIATIONS.  
MOREOVER ANHONORABLE SETTLEMENT W/THE POWS RETURNED -- NO LONGER  
TIED TO RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SVN -- WOULD EVEN  
DAMAGE DEMS MORE. AND IF IT'S NECESSARY TO SELL OUT SVN TO GET THE  
POW'S BACK, RN MAY WELL LET DEM HILL DO THE FOUL DEED! SAYS ALSOP.

FOR RN, COMMENTING THAT "LIBERAL MC'S" HAVE ABANDONED NEGOTIATION FOR CAPITULATION." HE SAYS CONSERVATIVES ARE WORRIED BY ATTACKS ON ADMIN BY HILL AND "ANTAGONISTICALLY IRRESPONSIBLE NATIONAL PRESS" WHO WOULD "MAKE A MOCKERY" OF WH POWER. ANTI-WAR MC'S DISPLAY "ACUTE IGNORANCE" OF REALITIES WHILE BLAMING RN FOR INTRANSIGENCE ON NEGOTIATIONS. HE CONCLUDES "IF HILL UNDERCUTS NEGOTIATIONS, IT WILL BETRAYING US IDEALS, PRINCIPLES, AND THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE," A WILL REFLECTED BY NEITHER HILL DOVES NOR "SNEERING PSEUDO-HUMANITARIAN NEWS MEDIA EDITORIALS."

DAVID LAWRENCE SAYS CUT OFF VOTE WOULD COMPLETELY DISREGARD THE FACT RN CANNOT FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY IF MONEY IS INTERMITTENTLY W HELD AND WOULD BE, IN EFFECT, "AN INVOLUNTARY SURRENDER." NEVER BEFORE HAS THE PRES. BEEN PREVENTED FROM NEGOTIATING FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH AND THE MOVES AREN'T ENCOURAGING NVN TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS. HE ALSO WONDERS WHETHER SUCH A STEP WOULD BE MET W/DISMAY IN EUROPE AND WHETHER IT WOULD UNDERMINE RN'S AUTHORITY IN DEALING W/OTHER COUNTRIES. IF FOREIGN DIPLOMATS THINK RN DOESN'T SPEAK FOR THE US AND THAT HILL HAS THE DECISIVE VOICE, "THERE WILL BE A GREAT DEAL OF CONFUSION AS TO WHERE US REALLY STANDS IN WORLD AFFAIRS," SAYS THE US NEWS EDITOR.

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SECTION FOUR

TO: WINSTON LORD FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

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FOREIGN NEWS SUMMARY

7 LETTERS IN NEWSWEEK ON THE VN IMPASSE -- ALL CRITICAL OF US  
POLICY. ...TIME W/ALL 4 OF ITS SELECTION AL O CRITICAL....DAN  
HERRIGANIS SEEKING US APPROVAL TO GO TO HANOI SAT....AP REPORTS  
ABOUT 2,000 ATTENDED THE LA ANTI-WAR RALLY. UPI ESTIMATED 1500  
BUT CBS SAID 4-5,000 UN. NITE.

ABC'S SMITH IN DEFENSE OF RN ACCUSED TIMES AND OTHER OF "STRONG  
LANGUAGE AND WEAR MEMORIES" IN WEEKEND EDITS AGAINST RING'S BOMBING.  
NOTING TIMES' CALLED IT UNPRECEDENTED "TERROR BOMBING AND W/OUT  
HILL PERMISSION," HKS SAID "I BEG TO STRENGTHEN MEMORY." FDR WAS  
"BIGGEST" TERROR BOMBER AND YET THE 3RD GREATEST PRES IN BOTH TIMES'  
AND HKS OPINION. HST WAS MOST "SPECTACULAR BOMBER, WIPING OUT  
2 CITIES W/2 BOMBS. YET TIMES AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN HEAPING "LAVISH  
PRAISE" ON HST. FINALLY HE NOTED IKE WHO IN '53 W/OUT HILL PERMISSION  
ORDERED SATURATION BOMBING OF N. KOREA WHICH CAUSED END OF WAR.  
SMITH SAID HE DIDN'T SEEK TO JUSTIFY THOSE PRECEDENTS, ONLY TO POINT  
OUT THEY HAPPENED AND WERE MUCH MORE COSTLY THAN RN'S RECENT ACTIONS.

ARIZ No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-248-4-5-7  
IN TACTICS WHILE RN'S OVERALL ASIA STRATEGY SHOULD SOON  
PRODUCE ENCOURAGING RESULTS. THE LONG-TERM POLICY -- UNDERSTANDING  
W/ USSR AND PRC -- HAS ALREADY CREATED CONDITIONS FOR A GENERATION  
OF PEACE; THEREFORE, " WE CAN LOOK BACK AT '72 W/ CONSIDERABLE  
SATISFACTION AND PRIDE. NO OTHER YEAR SINCE WWII'S END HAS  
PROVED MORE PRODUCTIVE FOR US FOREIGN POLICY OR MORE ENCOURAGING  
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE." THANKS TO '72 INITIATIVES, NO ONE IS  
AFRAID OF A NEW WORLD WAR OR SERIOUS POWER CONFRONTATION, PADEV  
ADDS -- " THIS IS, INDEED, A VERY SOLID ACHIEVEMENT FOR TH US."

PADEV DOESN'T BELIEVE SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF US DIPLOMACY IN VN  
SHOULD BE MINIMIZED CONSIDERING US IS DEALING W/" AN ENEMY AS  
CUNNING AND TREACHOUS AS HANOI." AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN  
SIGNED WEEKS AGO IF NVN HADN'T TRIED TO INCLUDE "FINE PRINT"  
VERY DIADVANTAGEOUS TO US, ADDING HANOI MADE A GRAVE MISTAKE AGAIN  
AS THEIR TRICKS WOULDN'T FOOL RN. "IT'S GOOD TO KNOW RN BEHAVES  
THE WAY HE DOES WHEN CONFRONTED W/.DUBIOUS COMMUNIST NEGOTIATING  
METHODS." PADEV URGES US TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT RESULTS WILL BE  
BEFORE CONDEMNING RN'S EFFORTS AND NOT TO HELP NVN BY MAKING  
NEGOTIATIONS MORE DIFFICULT, AND HE PREDICTS RN'S POLICY WILL  
SUCCED AGAIN.

#### OTHER VN

ABC NOTED GI'S DOWN TO 24,000, LOWEST SINCE JAN. '65 WHEN  
BUILDUP BEGAN. SMITH NOTED LEVEL MIGHT SLIGHTLY INCREASE SOON DUE  
TO PRE-XMAS W/DRAWALS.

TIME CALLS THE GROUND WAR A BITTER, STALEMATED ONE OF ATTRITION.  
THE UGLY GARBAGE OF WAR SPRAWLS OBSCENELY NEAR QT.  
THE CITY ITSELF IS TOTAL DESSOLATION -- NOTHING BUT RUBBLE. ARVN  
SEEMS TO BE WINNING THE BATTLE FOR QT, THE MAG SAYS. BUT THERE  
ARE MAJOR PROBLEMS AND TROOPS ARE HIGHLY SKEPTICAL OF PEACE TALKS.

AND AN L... SAYS TIME... IS A GOYA-LIKE PORTRAIT OF THE HORRORS OF  
No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-248-4-5-7  
WAR, INHABITED BY PERHAP 250 CIVILIANS GMZMMMRUBBLE F QT WHERE  
25,000 ONCE LIVED SHOWN ON CBS. NOW TH SURVIVORS ARE IN REFUGEE  
COMPOUNDS, MANY AROUND DANANG WHERE 265,000 REFUGEES ARE IN  
34 CAMPS. FOCUS ON "CAMP B" AND ITS 15,000 RESIDENTS -- SAME  
POPULATION AS IN SAN CLEMENTE, NOTED REPORTER WAGNER WHO EMPHASIZED  
LACK OF JOBS BUT POINTED OUT MOST WERE VERY YOUNG OR VERY OLD.  
PROFILE OF FAMILY OF 10 -- ALL INJURED IN WAR -- AND THEIR GRAND-  
PARANTS. LIVE BETTER THAN MOST W/FATHER A POLICEMAN. 12 LIVE IN 12  
X13 HOOC. EVEN THO NO REAL PEACE IS EXPECTED AND MORE WAR AT QT  
IS SEEN AS LIKELY, THEY WANT TO GO BACK AND LIVE IN QT -- TO BE NEAR  
SMALL PLOTS THEY OWN AND GRAVES OF ANCESTORS. THEY THUS CARE LITTLE  
FOR GOV'TS, PRESIDENTS OR WARS -- AND, CONCLUDED WAGNER, THEY  
THUS SHARE ATTITUDES OF MILLIONS IN SVN.

SUGGESTING THEY EXPECT NEW ATTACKS NORTH OF THE 20TH IF TALKS  
BREAK DOWN, NVN SAID HUNDREDS OF ANTIAIRCRAFT UNITS HAVE BEEN  
FORMED BY THE HOME GUARD AND MILITIA AROUND HANOI AND  
HAIPHONG. ...RUNNING FOR COVER IS SOMETHING N.VIETS ARE USED TO,  
SAID CBS AM'S HART, LEADING INTO FILM OF B52'S DROPPING BOMBS.  
REPORTER DAVIS ADDED THAT WAS SOMETHING US HAS NEVER HAD TO FACE,  
BUT NVN HAS SURVIVED AND FOUGHT FOR YEARS UNDER THIS AND IN DOING  
SO HAS WON RESPECT OF US WHICH DOESN'T KNOW HOW NVN DOES IT. DAVIS  
THEN CONTINUED W/INTERVIEW OF NVA DEFECTOR WYO RECOUNTED HOW  
NVA WAS AFRAID OF B52'S.

ABC NOTED NELSON PROPOSAL OF GOV'T-FINANCED STUDY OF ENVIRON-  
MENTAL EFFECTS OF US BOMBING AND DEFOLIATION IN SVN AND LED INTO FILM  
OF SCIENTISTS STUDYING EFFECTS FOR AUGUST REPORT TO HILL. ABC'S  
COLLINS NOTED IMPORTANCE OF DATA ON "KILLBACK," THE RESIDUAL  
ECOLOGICAL DAMAGE DONE BY BOMBING. SO FAR DATA AND STUDIES  
REVEAL NO ADVERSE EFFECT OF DEFOLIANT DAMAGE ON HUMANS.

LAIRD ABOLISHED NAME EGRESS RECAP IN FAVOR OF HOMECOMING FOR  
POW RETURN.

LON "No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-248-4-5-7  
HAS PROMISED "FIRM SUPPORT" AGAINST NVN "AGGRESSION." HE ALSO  
BELIEVES US BOMBS HAVE SO WEAKENED NVN THAT IT'LL BE FORCED TO  
NEGOTIATE A "JUST" SETTLEMENT AND WITHDRAW FROM CAMBODIA.

OTHER FOREIGN AFFAIRS

LAIRD WARNED IT'LL BE "ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE" TO AVOID CUTS OF  
GNS IN EUROPE IS NATO MEMBERS REDUCE THEIR OWN MILITARY  
EFFECTIVENESS. AND HE SAID HOPES OF E-W DETENTE MAY CAUSE  
PREMATURE RELAXATION OF DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS: " THE SIMPLE FACT  
IS THAT USSR MILITARY BUILDUP, CONVENTIONAL AS WELL AS NUCLEAR,  
CONTINUES W/ VIGOROUS MOMENTUM."

NEWSWEEK NOTES A STATE OFFICIAL'S DESCRIPTION OF SWEDEN AS AN  
"UNFRIENDLY COUNTRY" BUT PALME SUPPOSEDLY "HAS NO WORRY AT ALL"  
ABOUT POST-VN RELATIONS W/US. NEWSWEEK, HOWEVER, FEELS THERE IS  
"LITTLE QUESTION PALME WAS TEMPORARILY UNDERESTIMATING" BOTH  
STRAIN OF US-SWEDEN RELATIONS AND THEIR EARLY RESOLUTION POST-VN.

WEST GERMANY'S FIRST ENVOY TO PRC WILL BE ROLF PAULS, NOW  
AMB. TO US.

TODAY'S MC GEE NOTED SOME FEEL IRELAND PM LYNCH IS HERE  
UNOFFICIALLY "TO GET PRIVATE CITIZENS TO STOP HELPING IRA. LYNCH  
SAID HE DIDN'T DISCUSS MATTER W/RN BECAUSE THERE IS LITTLE RN OR  
ADMIN COULD DO ABOUT IT . DISCUSSING EEC MEMBORSHIP, LYNCH  
SAID IT WOULD MEAN BETTER OPPORTUNITIES FOR US INDUSTRY IN IRELAND,  
AS THEY COUL  
HAVE ENTIRE EEC AS MARKET. HE EMPHASIZED THIS  
IN TALK W/ RN AN BLIEVE RN IS WELL-DISPOSED AND HAS GENUINE  
IN IRELAND.

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SECTION FIVE OF FIVE

TO: WINSTON LORD FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FM: THE SITUATION ROOM

FOREIGN NEWS SUMMARY

SADAT SAYS HE HAS NO HOPE THE US CAN HELP BRING PEACE TO THE MID E. HE ALSO EXPRESSED DISMAY AT THE FAILURE OF ARAB COUNTRIES TO UNITE AGAINST US INTERESTS IN THE AREA. ... NEWSWEEK FEELS CAIRO STUDENT UNREST IS EVIDENCE PEACE IS "FURTHER AWAY THAN AT ANY TIME IN PAST TWO YEARS (THO) US HOPES TO LAUNCH MAJOR (PEACE) EFFORT." A MIDEAST DIPLOMAT SAYS TALKS ARE "OUT OF THE QUESTION. THE SITUATION IS SIMPLY NOT CONDUCTIVE TO NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT" W/ EGYPT'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND SADAT'S WEAK POSITION BARRIERS TO PEACE. NEWSWEEK ALSO QUOTES "RUEFUL" ISRAELI MINISTER: "THE SAD REALITY IS THAT STATUS QUO IS REALLY PREFERABLE TO ANY OF THE EXISTING POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE." ...



INTEREST IN MIDEAST PEACE, ADDING PERHAPS OPPORTUNITIES DIDN'T  
REALLY PRESENT THEMSELVES EARLIER. "I AM REALY QUITE OPTIMISTIC  
ABOUT THE TREND (TO PEACE)" HE SAID. HE FEELS MIDEAST MAY BE ON  
THE <sup>THRESHOLD OF IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS</sup> "5#43#9)\$ 91 8.0945-,5 \$3;3)90.3,5" AS WHOLE WORLD SEEMS  
IN MOOD FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION. RECENT EVENTS INDICATE A  
"GENERAL AND GENUINE DESIRE TO REMOVE CAUSES OF TENSION AND DANGER  
TO WORLD PEACE." HUSSEIN SAID HE DOESN'T BELIEVE IT WOULD BE  
HELPFUL TO W/HOLD OIL FROM ANYONE. BUT, HE ALSO SAID ARABS ARE  
DISTURBED BECAUSE ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN CHANGING JERUSALEM'S FAVE  
DESPITE PROHIBITIVE UN RESOLUTIONS. ...TIME REPORTS STATE, ON  
ORDERS FROM WH, IS MERELY OFFERING ITSELF AS A POTENTIAL GO-BETWEEN  
IF EITHER SIDE WANTS TO TALK. ONE STATE OFFICIAL WHO FAVORS MORE  
PRESSURE FROM US GLOOMILY CHARACTERIZED PEACE PROSPECTS AS  
"MORIBUND".

THE HONEYMOON IS OVER FOR TANAKA, SAYS AP. 6 MONTHS AGO  
HE WAS HAILED AS ANSWER TO JAPAN'S PROBLEMS. TODAY, MANY EXPRESS  
DIEAPPOINTMENT, BLAMING HIM FOR SOARING LAND PRICES AND LIVING  
COSTS. GOV'T LEADERS FEAR THE SISSATISFACTION COULD COST  
THEM UPPER HOUSE MAJORITY NEXT YEAR. CRITICS SAY TANAKA HAS FALLEN  
IN TO SAME PATTERN OF BUROCRACY AND INACTIVITY AS SATO.

LAIRD PREDICTED IF ADMIN'S PLANS FOR MILITARY AID FOR ROK  
ARE CARRIED OUT, THERE WILL BE NO REQUIREMENT FOR US GROUND TROOPS  
THERE.

TIME BELIEVES PROSPECT FOR US-CUBAN HIJACK AGREEMENT PLACES US  
IN A DILEMMA SINCE US MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO TURN BACK REFUGEES  
FROM CUBA. RE: THE 3 REFUGEES THAT ESCAPED TO FLA. IN DEC.,  
THE MAG REPORTS A STATE STAFFER FEELS IF THE PRICE OF A SKYJACK  
ACCORD MEANS THEY HAVE TO BE DEPORTED, "THE PRICE IS TOO GREAT."  
AN ADMIN OFFICIAL THINKS INSTEAD OF DEPORTATION THE 3 COULD BE  
GIVEN STIFF JAIL SENTENCES....PAUL SCOTT ATTACKS APPARENT NEW ADMIN  
POLICY ON HIJACKS AND CUBAN REFUGEES. SCOTT SAYS "ADMIN INSIDERS"  
CALL DEPORTATION POLICY AN OUT-GROWTH OF RN DECISION TO "DOWNGRADE  
CONCEPT OF FREEDOM" IN US-COMMUNIST RELATIONS, A POLICY  
"COMPLETELY DIVORCED FROM ALL MORALITY."...REPORTS ARE ROGERS WILL  
MAKE A SWING THRU LAT. AM. IN PREPARATION FOR AN RN VISIT THERE  
LATER IN '73, SAYS US NEWS.

HAS REFUSED TO ALLOW SOLZHENITSYN TO DIVORCE HIS FIRST WIFE,  
AND THUS FRUSTRATES CHANCE HE'D HAVE TO MOVE TO MOSCOW....ABC/NBC  
NOTED USSR SHOT AND UNMANNED SPACECRAFT TOWARD MOON, THEIR FIRST  
MOON PROBE IN NEARLY A YEAR.

# DEFENSE

LAIRD SAID RULE WAS DEMOTED BECAUSE OF HIS "CRUDE, RUDE AND  
INDECENT" REMARKS ABOUT IKE. "HE SHOWED VERY POOR TASTE AND  
JUDGMENT," SAID LAIRD WHO DESCRIBED RULE AS "AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE."  
THE SECY MAINTAINED HE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH RULE'S NEW ASSIGNMENT  
AND THAT USN OFFICIALS ASSURED HIM THE DEMOTION HAD NOTHING TO DO  
WITH RULE'S COST-CUTTING EFFORTS BUT RATHER WERE DUE TO SERIES  
OF STATEMENTS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF SUPERIORS....THE SUPREME COURT  
CLEARED THE WAY FOR AN OPEN HEARING FOR FITZGERALD AS HE RECAPS  
HIS DOD SPENDING CRITICISMS W/CALL FOR "LEANER, MEANER" MILITARY  
AS MORE EFFECTIVE AND ATTACK ON SOLELY GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTIVE  
JOB  
AREA SUCH AS DEFENSE-RELATED INDUSTRY. HE EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT  
W/MCG'S DEFENSE CUT PLANS, HOWEVER.

THE SUPREME COURT REJECTED ANOTHER APPEAL OF THE ACLU AND  
OTHERS CHALLENGING SURVEILLANCE BY ARMY INTELLIGENCE....US NEWS  
REPORTS DRAFT DODGERS AND DESERTERS ARE RECEIVING FAR LIGHTER SENTENCES  
THAN THEY FEARED, BUT THIS DOESN'T MEAN AMNESTY IS IN THE CARDS.  
HOWEVER VIOLATORS ARE BECOMING LESS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT RETURNING  
HOME.

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